

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 135540
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 135540

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MILI, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 135540

EUROPE

1. FRENCH MINISTER COUNSELOR BOYER CALLED ON EUR DEP
ASST SEC BARBOUR MAY 25 TO DELIVER MEMORANDUM WITH TWO
ANNEXES (BELOW) RELATING TO FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE
ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE. BOYER SAID PRESIDENT GISCARD
WOULD MENTION THIS INITIATIVE AT THE UN IN
HIS ADDRESS SAME DAY TO SSOD. FRENCH WERE GIVING COMPLE-
MENTARY MEMO WITH ADDITIONAL DETAILS TO ALL COUNTRIES WHO
WOULD PARTICIPATE, AS WELL AS TO CERTAIN MEDITERRANEAN LIT-

TOTAL NATIONS ONLY FOR INFORMATION OF LATTER. THEY INVITED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED, WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING AN AGENDA FOR PREPARATORY CONFERENCE WHICH THEY HOPED COULD BE CALLED TOWARDS END OF 1978. FRENCH ENVISAGE CONFERENCE ALONG LINES OF HELSINKI CSCE PREPARATORY MEETING (E.G. SIMILAR RULES OF PROCEDURE.) BEFORE SUMMONING MAJOR CONFERENCE ITSELF. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS BOYER INDICATED FRENCH HAD HAD SOME POSITIVE REACTIONS TO THIS INITIATIVE; HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT SOVIET VIEW MIGHT BE AND HAD NO INFORMATION ABOUT POSSIBLE SITE FOR CONFERENCE.

2. BARBOUR THANKED BOYER FOR THE MEMORANDUM AND ANNEXES WHICH HE SAID USG SHOULD STUDY WITH CARE. US WOULD IN DUE COURSE CONVEY ITS REACTIONS TO GOF.

3. FOLLOWING IS DEPARTMENT TRANSLATION OF FRENCH DOCUMENTS: BEGIN

QUOTE MEMORANDUM CONCERNING A CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE

FRANCE, WHOSE IDEAL IS GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 135540

BELIEVES THAT THIS GOAL CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY RESPECTING EACH NATION'S RIGHT TO SECURITY.

A GRADUAL AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO PROBLEMS, BASED ON A LUCID ANALYSIS OF THE WORLD AS IT IS, IS THEREFORE NEEDED. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD ENTAIL EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTORS OF INSTABILITY PRESENT AT THIS TIME AND AN ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THEM BY STAGES, BEARING IN MIND THE DIVERSITY OF EXISTING SITUATIONS AND THE VARIETY OF REGIONAL CONTEXTS.

OBJECTIVES

WITH REGARD TO EUROPE, THE STOCKPILING OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND THE HEIGHTENED RISK OF SURPRISE ATTACK CAUSED BY IT CONSTITUTE SERIOUS FACTORS OF INSTABILITY.

FRANCE THEREFORE BELIEVES THAT PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO IMPROVING SECURITY THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF ADEQUATE MEASURES DESIGNED TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AND THROUGH THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS. IN THAT SPIRIT, FRANCE PROPOSES THAT A CONFERENCE BE CONVENED -- CALLED THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE -- TO WHICH WOULD BE INVITED ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, THE LATTER TWO IN VIEW OF THEIR SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES IN THIS AREA.

SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA COVERED BY THE CONFERENCE WOULD ENCOMPASS ALL THE EUROPEAN TERRITORIES OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND WOULD THEREFORE EXTEND FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS. THE CONFERENCE WOULD DEAL WITH MAJOR CONVENTIONAL AIR AND GROUND WEAPONS OF GREAT OFFENSIVE POTENTIAL, THE STOCKPILING OF WHICH POSES A PARTICULARLY SERIOUS DANGER TO EUROPE. PERSONNEL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 135540

INDISPENSABLE TO THE USE OF SUCH MATERIEL COULD ALSO BE INCLUDED, AS COULD RELEVANT LOGISTIC SUPPORT. THE MATERIEL AND PERSONNEL WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AS SOON AS THEY ARE STATIONED IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA JUST INDICATED.

THAT DEFINITION WOULD COMPLETELY EXCLUDE NAVAL FORCES WHOSE PRINCIPAL MISSION IS USUALLY OUTSIDE THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA CHOSEN FOR THE CONFERENCE. IT ALSO EXCLUDES NUCLEAR WEAPONS. APART FROM THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF PLACING CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER ONE HEADING WHEN THEY ARE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CONSIDER NUCLEAR WEAPONS SOLELY IN RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN THEATER WHEN LONG-RANGE STRATEGIC ARMS CAN BE USED IN EUROPE AS EASILY AS TACTICAL WEAPONS. THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF THAT TYPE OF ARMAMENT SHOULD THEREFORE BE DISCUSSED IN OTHER FORUMS.

THE PARTICIPANTS, SCOPE, AND AIM OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD THEREFORE SET IT APART FROM DISCUSSIONS BEING HELD ELSEWHERE WITH MORE LIMITED OBJECTIVES.

STRUCTURE

THE CONFERENCE WILL BE ABLE TO REALIZE ITS OBJECTIVES ONLY GRADUALLY AND STEP BY STEP. FRANCE THEREFORE PROPOSES THAT THE CONFERENCE FIRST TRY TO ESTABLISH MEASURES TO PROVIDE MUTUAL INFORMATION, PREVENT SURPRISE ATTACK, AND BRING ABOUT STABILIZATION. BY BUILDING CONFIDENCE, SUCH MEASURES WOULD TEND TO CREATE A CLIMATE FAVORABLE TO UNDERSTANDING AND DETENTE AND TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF REAL DISARMAMENT MEASURES. IN SO
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 135540

DOING, THE CONFERENCE WOULD COMPLETE A NUMBER OF ARRANGEMENTS FULLY AND SPECIFICALLY CORRESPONDING TO THE AIMS SET BY THE CSCE FINAL ACT IN THE CHAPTER DEALING WITH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES.

THE SECOND PHASE WOULD COME WHEN RESULTS REGARDED AS SUBSTANTIAL AND SATISFACTORY BY ALL THE PARTICIPANTS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED, EVEN THOUGH WORK ON THE DEFINITION OF THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES WOULD NOT NECESSARILY HAVE BEEN COMPLETED. IN THIS PHASE THE CONFERENCE COULD BEGIN TO STUDY ACTUAL MEASURES FOR THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND THE PERSONNEL INDISPENSABLE FOR OPERATING THEM. SUCH LIMITATION AND REDUCTION MEASURES, WHICH WOULD BE APPLIED TO EACH OF THE MILITARY ENTITIES PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE -- MEMBER STATES OF MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OR STATES TAKEN INDIVIDUALLY, WHETHER OR

NOT THEY ARE MEMBERS OF AN ALLIANCE -- WOULD ENSURE THE BEST POSSIBLE BALANCE BETWEEN THE ENTITIES AND ASSURE EACH OF THEM OF OPTIMAL SECURITY.

THIS CONFERENCE WOULD NOT PRESENT AN OBSTACLE TO THE NEGOTIATION IN EUROPE OF MORE LIMITED ACCORDS WHOSE PROVISIONS MIGHT BE MORE FAR-REACHING THAN THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY IT.

PROCEDURE

FRANCE WOULD LIKE THESE IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS, WHOSE ONLY PURPOSE IS TO BRING ABOUT REAL PROGRESS IN WHAT IS FOR EUROPE THE VERY IMPORTANT AREA OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING AND DISARMAMENT, TO BE EXAMINED IN DETAIL AND SERVE AS TOPICS OF BROAD DISCUSSION AMONG THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. FRANCE WOULD BE HAPPY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THOSE TO WHOM THIS MEMORANDUM IS ADDRESSED AND WILL GIVE CAREFUL CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 135540

ATTENTION TO ANY OBSERVATIONS THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE TO OFFER.

THE CONVENING OF A MEETING PREPARATORY TO THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE MIGHT THEN BE THE NEXT STEP. IF SUCH IS THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED, FRANCE WOULD WISH TO MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING, WHOSE AIMS COULD INCLUDE A DISCUSSION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE CONFERENCE AND, POSSIBLY, THE SETTING OF A DATE AND PLACE FOR ITS FIRST SESSION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ITS AGENDA. FRANCE IS OF THE OPINION THAT THIS PREPARATORY MEETING COULD OPEN BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR.

THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING AND THE CONFERENCE COULD BE LARGELY MODELED ON THOSE OF THE CSCE, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS THE ADOPTION OF DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS AND THE ROTATING CHAIRMANSIP RULE.

BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATING ITS PROPOSALS, FRANCE HAS DRAWN UP DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE PART OF THE CONFERENCE DEVOTED TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AS WELL AS A LIST OF MAJOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO BE CONSIDERED IN NEGOTIATING LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS. THESE DOCUMENTS ACCOMPANY THE MEMORANDUM.

FRANCE WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED IF THEY WOULD INFORM IT OF THEIR REACTIONS TO THESE SUGGESTIONS, BOTH IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE AND OF ANY OTHER ASPECT ON WHICH THEY MIGHT LIKE TO COMMENT.

ANNEX I

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 135540

CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES PROPOSED BY FRANCE

THE FIRST OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO PROMOTE MUTUAL TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE EUROPEAN STATES SO AS TO CREATE THE FAVORABLE CLIMATE NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF FORCE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION.

IT IS THEREFORE A QUESTION OF WORKING OUT A GROUP OF MEASURES CAPABLE OF DEVELOPING RECIPROCAL INFORMATION ON THE ARMED FORCES AND OF REDUCING THE RISKS OF SURPRISE AIR-GROUND ATTACK THAT ARE ONE OF THE INSTABILITY FACTORS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION.

SUCH MEASURES, WHICH WILL BE APPLIED, FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS, TO ALL STATES REPRESENTED, COULD INCLUDE:

1. MUTUAL INFORMATION MEASURES, WHICH MAY BE SUBDIVIDED INTO MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL MEASURES.

1.1 MULTILATERAL MEASURES:

EXCHANGE OF DATA ON COMMAND STRUCTURES AND FORCE DEPLOYMENT (LIMITED TO MAJOR UNITS).

EXCHANGE OF DATA ON MILITARY BUDGETS, FOR WHICH THE SWEDISH PLAN BEING DEVELOPED COULD SERVE AS A BASIS.

SUCH DATA COULD BE COLLECTED AND REDISSEMINATED BY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE DURING THE SESSIONS.

1.2 BILATERAL MEASURES, BASED ON RECIPROCITY:

EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS FOR MANEUVERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES LAID DOWN BY THE CSCE.

VISITS AND CALLS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 135540

EXCHANGE OF MILITARY INSTRUCTORS OR LECTURERS.
"-ELOPMENT OF FACILITIES ACCORDED MILITARY ATTACHES
(MOVEMENT WITHIN COUNTRY. . .).

2. MEASURES DESIGNED TO PREVENT SURPRISE ATTACK, BASED
ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND MOVEMENTS AND
CONCERNING: AIR AND GROUND MANEUVERS, OR THOSE WHICH AIR,
GROUND, AND AMPHIBIOUS MEANS ARE JOINTLY EMPLOYED.

A LEVEL OF ONE OR TWO DIVISIONS AND A PERIOD OF ABOUT A
MONTH COULD BE ENVISAGED FOR THESE NOTIFICATIONS, WHICH
WOULD CONCERN NOT ONLY THE MILITARY STRENGTH BUT ALSO THE
MAJOR EQUIPMENT AS DEFINED IN ANNEX NO. 2. THIS PROPOSAL
IS CLOSELY RELATED TO THAT ADOPTED BY THE CSCE.

MOBILIZATION EXERCISES.

MOVEMENTS OF AIR-GROUND FORCES.

THE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION COULD BE THE MOVEMENT OF ONE TO
TWO DIVISIONS OVER A DISTANCE GREATER THAN 200 KILOMETERS,
WITH 30 DAYS PRIOR NOTICE.

THE 200-KILOMETER MINIMUM COULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED
FOR MOVEMENTS FAR FROM THE BORDERS OF CERTAIN LARGE
COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, NOTIFICATION COULD INCLUDE DESIGNA-
TION OF THE PRINCIPAL CROSSING POINTS USED, ESPECIALLY
FOR BORDER CROSSINGS.

3. STRICTER STABILIZATION MEASURES THAN THE FOREGOING:
AIR AND GROUND MANEUVERS CEILING OF 60,000 MEN, FOR
EXAMPLE, WITH TIME/SPACE REQUIREMENTS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 135540

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AIRCRAFT OR SPACECRAFT MONITORING
SYSTEM WHICH COULD BE THE SUBJECT OF A EUROPEAN AGREEMENT.

ANNEX 2

FORCE LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS

FORCE LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS WOULD APPLY TO CONVENT-
IONAL EQUIPMENT WHICH, COMBINING MOBILITY WITH POWER,
IS INDICATIVE OF THE OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY OF THE AIR
AND GROUND FORCES, I.E.:

COMBAT TANKS (MEDIUM AND HEAVY)

INFANTRY ARMORED VEHICLES
FIELD ARTILLERY AND MULTIPLE ROCKET LAUNCHERS
COMBAT AIRCRAFT (FIGHTERS, FIGHTER-BOMBERS, AND
RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT)
ARMED HELICOPTERS (COMBAT AND ASSAULT)

THE MILITARY PERSONNEL LIKELY TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT
EQUIPMENT WOULD ALSO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, TOGETHER
WITH THE LOGISTIC SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR ITS OPERATION.

REDUCTION SHOULD RESULT IN THE DISBANDING OF THE UNITS
CONCERNED.

CONTROL MEASURES WOULD BE REQUIRED TO VERIFY EXECUTION OF
THE LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS. SUCH MEASURES COULD BE
CARRIED OUT BY THE SATELLITES OF THE INTERNATIONAL
AGENCY PROPOSED BY FRANCE, BY THE AIRCRAFT MONITORING
SYSTEM MENTIONED IN ANNEX NO. 1, AND BY OBSERVERS IN THE
FIELD. END QUOTE VANCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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